lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstructions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French].

In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 191] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.P. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the village plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective labor performed for Kamairabó. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet gram

that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tamplitaua stood.

The center of Tamplitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapir," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 2). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the hut. The unchecked proliferation of Blatella germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the hut to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which Tamplitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1938. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Araners by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Araners gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning" [translated from French].

The word written araners in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anand, and arand with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kaingáng in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:118] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Id., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned [177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé, 174 nor did I find anyone in Tamplitaua who had used them, or anyone 412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampanaí, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that 174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects 412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow") 439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kychê-eté, from kychê, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kichê being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have [177] used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out 241 as a collective endeavor called apechiré by the Tapirapé (the • 976 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tamapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

1:Baldus--110 E-5 (1935,1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used
●476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tediousness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

[461]

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the
221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more
241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, caxí [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc,
244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to
[412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of caxí knots, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412]
241 [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize, peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirá* — bird" — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirá* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtãpawé* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-96) did not recognize these work groups as age groups of men's ceremonial societies. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports them with groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's work group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, feasts, wars and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age groupings of men's ceremonial societies as described above. [394]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the *tãtãpawé* "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution 121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

264 The social significance of this organization into "eating groups" derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens 224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam- [262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem- 574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs. 476

264 At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided 551 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivṹna, Maniitivuéra, Kãũãnõĩ, Tãũãupéra, Ampirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupáũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivṹnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinkĩ́ with vũaiki'rã (a variety of manioc). This may be [771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common 551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what 476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the 264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupáũã designates both the common feast of a group and the 574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what 476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũa" 264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement [101]

that all participants in the tãtũpṹũa [90] are called thus. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtĩ is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

The word upãũa means "everything eaten."

The word tatũpṹũa may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairabó, was a Tzankanépéra, while the second chief, Vũãtanami', was a Panañĩvṹña. As I lived in Kamairabó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Tzankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Tzankanépéra.

Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers and sisters.

Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

At certain times the entire population of the village gathers together for the tãtũpṹũa, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũibó, or "bad kãũĩ" (literally, "big kãũĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 574 476 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kamanõ̂, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ" to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. [262] There were bananas, possum, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with pepper, several varieties of karã [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãũ̂, etc. Before that, there was a great 431 574 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such [622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better [177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

264 476 574 Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they [554] pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk 123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitãnya, his little [597] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankanépéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 574 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots 535 and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the [776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, 132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

574 796 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 264 476 574 [462] On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũa of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

• 264 476 574 [324] much as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] [562] [352] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinkí˝ of both sexes sat [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

123 264 476 574 In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanépéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinkí˝ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

264 476 Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxí house and in the takána.

[574] [611] Aside from the tatãupãua, there is another institution which also involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirí. Its purpose,

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtãpdũa. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirĩ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaĩ 'shadows' live in the takĩna. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (anxĩna) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takĩna. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaĩ have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takĩna, where they eat it. In the apatxirĩ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaĩ are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaĩ.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirĩ.

For the apatxirĩ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxĩ, and Vuĩrantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 622 476 651 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ and Urukumĩ. (Although Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãnaiva of the Anantxí were the chief Tanupantxúa and Vuíraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairí and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuirantxinaí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxí belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirí group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxí also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirí, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirí is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirí. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxúa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

under the leadership of the ãmaiva of the Anamxuí, Tampamxúa and Vuixuí. Here the Anamxuí were present in larger numbers than the other groups, for they were, so to speak, the contractors of this particular apamxiní. No division into three groups was evident, however, as the work progressed. All the Tãmãvé, Anamxuí, and Vuixamxiniõ mixed together at random.

Tampamxúa marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those spots without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. [554] He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others.

Ãmaiva of other groups were also present and working, such as Urukumí of the Tãmãvé and Kamairé of the Vuixamxiniõ. Vũstanami had gone to his garden. [570] As usual, he probably wanted to avoid meeting Kamairabõ, whom he hated. Maninchõ had stayed home. Kamairabõ sat on a felled tree and watched.

[100] Each man, as soon as he felt the desire to work, chose a tree for himself, as he pleased, in the vicinity of the ãmaiva, and the contest began. It did not seem to be a contest against the fellow workers, a fight to win over the others by achieving more, but a joyous contest against the timber and the big forest, against the forest as a whole, for it was not merely a matter of conquering each tree individually with the brute strength of the arms, but also a matter of strategy. First an incision in a good number of trees was made in such a way that they would all fall in the same direction when their tottering neighbor leaned against them from the opposite direction. Only then was a forest giant felled, and felled in such a way that it dragged with it to the ground its fellows weakened by the ax.

After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent.

The Indian works according to a different rhythm than that followed by the men of our civilization. He does not carry out the same task every day, at a certain time and for a certain period of time, but gives himself up with all his senses and all his strength to whatever task seems to him most necessary at the moment and best suited to his creative urge. When he does this, he does not spare himself but persists in his heavy work until he is completely exhausted. For example, he gives himself to the felling of trees with such fanaticism that on the following day he can hardly get out of his hammock owing to the muscular pain. [101] As soon as he feels a little better, he carves a bow stave or weaves a basket. Suddenly, he feels a craving for

46/ bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the
garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous
load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this
[147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again,
he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night,
duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five
ordinary men. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-104, and the
first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences
among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The
Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the
[262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in
spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave them-
selves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs.
177 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduc-
182 tion of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern
neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bent had an
effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the
Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural inde-
pendence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair
the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence
and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of de-
generation are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must
be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to dis-
cuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph
is omitted.]

476 When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the
461 apatxirí of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which
it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique
[147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest
around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and
tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among
us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close
together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of
[276] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they
476 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was
heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

• 472 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [252] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

[192] These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [482] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

252 The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 262 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé [322] like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [171] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun-heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

264 They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

264 [198] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 476 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 462 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 574 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement.

[262] There were banana kãũ̃, peanut kãñi, cottonseed kãũ̃, toasted karĩ, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãñãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxí from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãñãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

264 462 476 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came, picked them up, and took them home. The men followed. The Anaxnxí walked first, with the Vuirazxrinió behind them and the Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when [129] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirazxrinió.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move. 535 The men ran straight to the takána and paired off for the dance. The women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tamupaxxóa and Vuiraí, the ãntaíva of the Anaxnxí. The Anaxnxí had now mixed with the Vuirazxrinió. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahó, Uruimmí', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takána. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vũitanamí', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhéui, which means "I 883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahó's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It [150] might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

Ta 526 883 Kamairahd's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled graciously at each other (1).

Ta 11 [111] Ta 526

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Gê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaĩpda (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaĩpda, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kamsovamf. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta 476 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirĩ at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirĩ was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirĩ are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1948)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 20 6

"hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is [illegible] was in the past just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not [illegible] upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Population control among the Tapirapé seems as to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial societies limited to men. Each society was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's societies and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

[Te 555] [Te 246] [Te 559] [Te 476] [Te 546]

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's societies. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry season at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (1) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's societies also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

[Te 224] [Te 561] [Te 646]

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to insure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's societies as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded societies to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their technological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

[Te 182] [Te 621] [Te 976] [Te 561] [Te 646] [Te 182] [Te 621] [Te 578] [Te 161]

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded societies out of balance. There were not enough men of the "elder" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

[Te 182] [Te 161] [Te 561] [Te 646] [Te 476] [Te 574] [Te 264]

(1) Baldus (1937) p. 10 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[37] The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 952 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

241 **Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their [894] villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for 241 their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 616 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 778 festival (apaĩrã). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, generally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants [923] together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apaĩrã, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

252 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the